

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 202372 TOSEC 090130
ORIGIN INR-07

INFO OCT-01 EA-10 ISO-00 SSO-00 SS-15 CCO-00 INRE-00
/033 R

DRAFTED BY INR/REA: P CHANG

APPROVED BY INR: R KIRK

INR/REA: J SYLVESTER

INR/DDR: M PACKMAN

EA/PRCM: G F FOX

S/S-O: LFLEISCHER

EA/ROC: D BROWN

EA/J: H COCHRAN

-----041424 242322Z /66

O 242243Z AUG 77 ZFF4

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO IMMEDIATE

AMCONSUL HONG KONG IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI IMMEDIATE

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: CH, PINT, OVIP (VANCE, C.)

SUBJECT: CHINA'S NEW LEADERSHIP LINE-UP

FOR GLEYSTEN AND OKSENBERG FROM INR KIRK

1. THE FOLLOWING ANALYSIS OF THE NEW CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND
POLITBURO, PREPARED BY INR CONTRACTOR-CONSULTANT, DR. PARRIS
CHANG, MAY BE USEFUL TO YOU.

2. SUMMARY. CHINA'S "OLD GUARDS" ARE BACK IN POWER. THE
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NEW LEADERSHIP LINE-UP PORTENDS A DRIVE FOR STABILITY AND
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

3. THE CONGRESS, WHICH SANCTIFIES THE SHIFT FROM REVOLU-
TIONARY RADICALISM TO ORDER AND PRAGMATIC POLICIES, REPRESENTS
A MAJOR VICTORY BOTH FOR CHINA'S CONSERVATIVE
POLITICAL FORCES AND FOR VICE CHAIRMAN TENG HSIAO-P'ING
HIMSELF. LEADERS WHO HAVE PUSHED FOR MODERNIZATION OF
CHINA'S ECONOMY AND NATIONAL DEFENSE, AND A LARGE GROUP
OF VETERAN PARTY AND MILITARY OFFICIALS WHO WERE TENG'S
SUPPORTERS AND WHO WERE VICTIMIZED BY THE CULTURAL REVOLU-

TION AND REHABILITATED IN THE 1970S, ARE STRONGLY REPRESENTED IN THE NEW CENTRAL COMMITTEE. AT THE SAME TIME,

THE "GANG OF FOUR" AND THEIR BACKERS (CLOSE TO 100) HAVE BEEN FORMALLY OUSTED. THE UPSURGE OF THE CONSERVATIVE INFLUENCE IS LIKELY TO SWEEP TENG INTO THE PREMIERSHIP AND PUT A LARGE NUMBER OF HIS FOLLOWERS IN TOP LEADERSHIP POSTS.

4. THE CONGRESS HAS ALSO RATIFIED CHAIRMAN HUA KUO-FENG'S HOLD ON POWER, HOWEVER, AND HE NOW STANDS AT CENTER STAGE. HE DERIVES HIS POWER NOT ONLY FROM THE LEGITIMACY OF BEING MAO'S ALLEGED CHOSEN SUCCESSOR BUT ALSO FROM THE SUPPORT OF A NEW GENERATION WHO CAME TO POLITICAL PROMINENCE SINCE THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION. ON THE POLITBURO, THERE ARE ARMY LEADERS CH'EN HSI-LIEN AND LI TEH-SHENG AND CIVILIAN OFFICIALS CHI TENG-K'UEI AND WU TEH. MOST IMPORTANT OF ALL, HUA'S LEADERSHIP STATUS WILL DEPEND ON THE SUPPORT OF WANG TUNG-HSING, THE NEWLY ELECTED PARTY VICE CHAIRMAN. WANG, WHO CONTROLS THE REGIME'S MILITARY SECRET POLICE APPARATUS AND PLAYED A DECISIVE ROLE IN THE ARREST OF THE "GANG OF FOUR" LAST OCTOBER, HAS EMERGED AS A FORMIDABLE POLITICAL FORCE.

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5. UNDOUBTEDLY, THE KEY ELEMENTS IN THE MILITARY, LED BY VICE CHAIRMAN YEH CHIEN-YING, BOLSTERED HUA'S CLAIM TO PARTY CHAIRMANSHIP LAST OCTOBER AND HAVE SINCE PROVIDED CRUCIAL SUPPORT TO HUA'S LEADERSHIP. BECAUSE OF HIS DOMINANT POSITION IN THE MILITARY AND HIS ELDER STATESMAN STATUS, YEH IS LIKELY TO FUNCTION AS AN ARBITER IN THE REGIME. HOWEVER, HE IS OVER 80 AND MAY NOT BE AROUND TOO LONG. WITHOUT A "BALANCER" OF HIS STATURE, DIFFERENT GROUPINGS MAY AGAIN ENGAGE IN NEW POLICY AND POWER STRUGGLES, AND THE LEADERSHIP CONSENSUS THAT HAS OBTAINED IN RECENT MONTHS MAY NOT LAST LONG. END SUMMARY.

6. THE LINEUP OF THE POLITBURO AND THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE ELECTED AT THE 11TH PARTY CONGRESS HAS IN MANY RESPECTS REPUDIATED PRECEPTS AND POLICIES IDENTIFIED WITH MAO.

7. OLD FAVORED OVER YOUNG. INSTEAD OF PROMOTING MORE YOUNG CADRES IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE MAOIST PRINCIPLE OF "COMBINING THE OLD, MIDDLE-AGED, AND THE YOUNG," AS WAS THE CASE DURING THE 9TH AND 10TH PARTY CONGRESSES IN 1969 AND 1973, THIS CONGRESS DOWNGRADED THE YOUNG AND FAVORED THE OLD, ALTHOUGH IT CONTINUED TO PAY LIP SERVICE TO THE PRINCIPLES.

8. THE MOST OUTSTANDING EXAMPLES OF HONORING SENIORITY ARE THE PROMOTION TO THE POLITBURO OF TWO AGED MARSHALS

HSU HSIANG-CHIEN (75) AND NIEH JUNG-CHEN (78); IN FACT

AMONG THE FIVE OTHER NEW POLITBURO MEMBERS, ULANFU IS 73 AND KENG PIAO IS 74, AND THE REMAINING THREE ARE IN THEIR 60S. THE SAME SITUATION IS ALSO TRUE FOR THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

9. HEAVY INFLUX OF NEW OFFICIALS. THERE IS A HEAVY TURNOVER IN THE TWO LEADING PARTY BODIES.
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--IN THE POLITBURO, EIGHT NEW MEMBERS AND THREE NEW ALTERNATES HAVE BEEN ADDED, BRINGING THE TOTAL MEMBERSHIP TO 23 MEMBERS AND THREE ALTERNATES.

--IN THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, 73 OF THE 201 MEMBERS AND 75 OF THE 132 ALTERNATE MEMBERS ARE NEWLY ELECTED; THE NEW ONES ACCOUNT FOR 44 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL MEMBERSHIP.

10. MOST OF THESE NEW MEMBERS AND ALTERNATE MEMBERS ARE VETERAN PARTY AND MILITARY OFFICIALS WHO WERE REHABILITATED DURING THE 1970S. TENG PERSONIFIES AND DERIVES SUPPORT FROM THESE VICTIMS OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION. IN THE POLITBURO, ULANFU AND AIR FORCE COMMANDER CHANG TING-FA EXPERIENCED THE SAME FATE AS TENG DID, WHILE HSU HSIANG-CHIEN AND NIEH JUNG-CHEN WERE ALSO VICTIMS (ALTHOUGH TO A LESSER DEGREE). IN THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, THERE ARE APPROXIMATELY 85 (OUT OF 201) WHO SUFFERED VARYING DEGREES OF DISGRACE DURING THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION. AMONG THESE, AT LEAST 40 ARE EITHER CLOSE ASSOCIATES OF TENG OR WERE RESTORED TO POSITIONS OF IMPORTANCE BY HIM IN 1974-75; HENCE, THEY ARE HIS STAUNCH SUPPORTERS.

11. "GANG OF FOUR" SUPPORTERS OUSTED. ANOTHER SIGN THAT THE 11TH CONGRESS REPUDIATED THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION AND MAO'S REVOLUTIONARY VALUES CAN BE SEEN IN THE WHOLE-SALE OUSTER OF THE "GANG OF FOUR" AND THEIR FOLLOWERS FROM THE NEW LEADERSHIP LINEUP:

--OUT OF THE 195 CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS ELECTED AT THE 10TH PARTY CONGRESS IN 1973, APPROXIMATELY 65 HAVE BEEN DROPPED.

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--AMONG THE 124 ALTERNATE MEMBERS ELECTED IN 1973, 55 HAVE BEEN DROPPED. IN TOTAL, APPROXIMATELY 38 PERCENT OF THE MEMBERS AND ALTERNATE MEMBERS ELECTED IN 1973 HAVE BEEN

EXCLUDED. MANY OF THESE WERE YOUNG, IN CHARGE OF TRADE UNIONS, URBAN MILITIA UNITS, YOUTH LEAGUES, AND WOMEN'S FEDERATIONS, AND SUPPORTERS OF THE "GANG OF FOUR" IN THE PROVINCES.

12. CENTRAL COMMITTEE PACKED WITH "ESTABLISHMENT" FIGURES. WITHOUT EXCEPTION, THE FIRST SECRETARIES OF 29 PROVINCIAL UNITS ARE CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS. IN ADDITION, THE FIRST SECRETARIES OF PEKING, SHANGHAI, AND KWANGTUNG ARE POLITBURO MEMBERS, AND THE FIRST SECRETARIES OF SZECHUAN AND SINKIANG ARE POLITBURO ALTERNATE MEMBERS. MOREOVER, NI CHIH-FU AND P'ENG CH'UNG, RESPECTIVELY SECOND AND THIRD SECRETARIES OF SHANGHAI, ARE ALSO POLITBURO MEMBERS; MOST LIKELY, NI WILL GO BACK TO WORK IN PEKING, AND P'ENG WILL SHORTLY BECOME THE FIRST SECRETARY OF SHANGHAI, REPLACING GENERAL SU CHEN-HUA, WHO IS CONCURRENTLY THE NAVY'S FIRST POLITICAL COMMISSAR. OTHER THAN THE FIRST PARTY SECRETARIES, MOST PROVINCES ALSO HAVE TWO OR THREE ADDITIONAL PROVINCIAL SECRETARIES REPRESENTED IN THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AS FULL OR ALTERNATE MEMBERS.

13. IN PEKING, THE LEADING FUNCTIONAIRES OF ALL THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE DEPARTMENTS AND TWO-THIRDS OF APPROXIMATELY 40 MINISTRIES ARE ALSO REPRESENTED ON THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND THE POLITBURO. THE ECONOMIC MINISTRIES, IN PARTICULAR, ARE STRONGLY REPRESENTED, REFLECTING THE REGIME'S STRESS ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

14. MILITARY HEAVILY REPRESENTED. WHILE THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE MILITARY CONSTITUTE 43 PERCENT (10 OUT OF 23) OF THE POLITBURO, THEIR REPRESENTATION IN THE CENTRAL LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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COMMITTEE IS LESS THAN 30 PERCENT (APPROXIMATELY 62 OF THE 201 MEMBERS AND 32 OF 132 ALTERNATE MEMBERS), TWO PERCENTAGE POINTS BELOW THE FIGURE FOR THE 10TH PARTY CONGRESS. AS IN THE CASE OF THE CIVILIAN CADRES, THE MILITARY MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE ARE ALSO "ESTABLISHMENT" FIGURES. WITHOUT EXCEPTION, THE COMMANDERS AND POLITICAL COMMISSARS OF ALL 11 MILITARY REGIONS ARE MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE. MORE THAN HALF OF THESE REGIONS ARE ALSO REPRESENTED BY ADDITIONAL MEMBERS OR ALTERNATE MEMBERS.

15. IN THE CENTRAL MILITARY HEADQUARTERS, THE CHIEFS AND DEPUTY CHIEFS OF THE GENERAL STAFF DEPARTMENT, THE DEPUTY DIRECTORS OF THE GENERAL POLITICAL DEPARTMENT, AND LEADING OFFICERS OF GENERAL REAR SERVICE DEPARTMENT ARE IN THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AS FULL OR ALTERNATE MEMBERS. THIS IS ALSO TRUE FOR THE LEADING OFFICERS OF THE SERVICE ARMS. IT SEEMS THAT THE AIR FORCE HAS ENHANCED ITS INFLUENCE,

FOR IT HAS A FEW MORE CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS THAN OTHER SERVICE ARMS DO, AND ITS COMMANDER, CHANG TING-HUA, HAS BEEN ELEVATED TO THE POLITBURO. IT IS ALSO NOTEWORTHY THAT APPROXIMATELY 10 COMBAT HEROES OR DIVISION-LEVEL MILITARY OFFICERS WHO WERE ELECTED TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE IN 1973 HAVE BEEN DROPPED IN FAVOR OF THEIR SENIORS. MOREOVER, TWO-THIRDS OF THE MILITARY MEN WHO ARE NOW IN THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE CURRENTLY WORK IN THE REGIONS AND THE PROVINCES.

16. IN FACT, ADDING TOGETHER THESE LOCAL MILITARY MEN, THE PROVINCIAL PARTY LEADERS AND REPRESENTATIVES OF THE MASS ORGANIZATIONS, THOSE CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS WHO WORK IN THE PROVINCES CONSTITUTE CLOSE TO 70 PERCENT OF THE ENTIRE MEMBERSHIP. THE OVERWHELMING REPRESENTATION OF THE PROVINCIAL FORCES IN THE PARTY'S MAJOR DECISION-LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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MAKING BODY, WHICH IS A REVERSAL OF THE SITUATION IN THE 1950S AND 1960S, COULD HAVE IMPORTANT IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE CHINESE POLITICS. FOR ONE THING, THE TREND TOWARD DECENTRALIZATION AND REGIONAL AUTONOMY COULD INCREASE, AND THE LOCAL LEADERS COULD BECOME MORE ASSERTIVE, ESPECIALLY AFTER SUCH TOWERING FIGURES IN PEKING AS YEH CHIEN-YING AND TENG PASS FROM THE SCENE-

17. OTHER CHARACTERISTICS OF NEW LEADERSHIP.

THERE IS A DISCERNIBLE EMPHASIS ON COOPTATION OF THE MINORITY NATIONALITIES, AS REFLECTED BY AN INCREASE OF MINORITY REPRESENTATIVES IN THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND IN THE POLITBURO AND THE APPOINTMENT OF A MONGOL, ULANFU, TO HEAD THE PARTY'S UNITED FRONT DEPARTMENT. SECONDLY, IN PLACE OF MOST OF THE MASS ORGANIZATION LEADERS WHO SUPPORTED THE "GANG" AND WHO WERE DROPPED FROM THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, THERE IS A NEW (BUT SMALLER CAST) OF MODEL WORKERS, MODEL PEASANTS, AND MASS REPRESENTATIVES. MOST OF THEM SEEM TO BE OLDER, ARE EXPECTED TO BE MORE SUPPORTIVE OF THE "ESTABLISHMENT," AND CAN BE REGARDED AS "DOCILE TOOLS" OF THE POWERHOLDERS.

18. CONCLUSION.

VETERAN PARTY AND MILITARY LEADERS HAVE BEEN FAVORED IN THE NEW LEADERSHIP LINEUP, WHILE THE YOUNGER ELEMENTS HAVE BEEN SLIGHTED. IT IS TRUE THAT SEVERAL LEADERS IN THEIR 50S ARE HOLDING MAJOR LEADERSHIP POSITIONS TODAY AND WILL PLAY EVEN MORE IMPORTANT ROLES HEREAFTER: HUA KUO-FENG (56) AND VICE-PREMIER CHI TENG-KUEI (55) IN PEKING, CHAO TZU-YANG IN SZECHUAN, CH'IAO HSIAO-KUANG IN KWANGSI, LIU KUANG-T'AO IN HEILUNGKIANG, AND MAI LI IN

KWEICHOW ARE OUTSTANDING EXAMPLES. HOWEVER, THESE AND A
FEW OTHERS ARE REALLY EXCEPTIONS TO THE OVERALL ELITE
STRUCTURE WHICH CONTINUES TO BE DOMINATED BY THE "OLD
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GUARDS." TENG'S RESTORATION TO POWER HAS, IN FACT, LEGI-
TIMATED THEIR HOLD ON MAJOR POSITIONS OF IMPORTANCE AND
BLOCKED OPPORTUNITIES FOR UPWARD MOBILITY FOR YOUNGER AND,
PROBABLY, MORE TALENTED ELEMENTS IN THE LEADERSHIP WHO
HAVE BEEN WAITING IN THE WINGS FOR YEARS. THE INABILITY
OR UNWILLINGNESS OF THE CHINESE HIGH COMMAND TO INFUSE NEW
BLOOD INTO THE LEADERSHIP IS BOUND TO ALIENATE A LARGE
NUMBER OF MIDDLE-AGED AND YOUNG OFFICIALS.

19. LOOKING FURTHER DOWN THE ROAD, ONE ALSO SEES CON-
SIDERABLE POTENTIAL FOR CONFLICT WITHIN THE CHINESE
LEADERSHIP, DESPITE ITS CONSENSUS ON MAJOR POLICY GOALS AT
THIS TIME. IT SHOULD BE REMEMBERED THAT HUA AND TENG
REPRESENT TWO MAJOR RIVAL POLITICAL GROUPINGS AND HAVE
DIFFERENT POWER BASES. BASICALLY, HUA AND HIS SUPPORTERS
ARE BENEFICIARIES OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION, RISING AS A
RESULT OF THE PURGES OF VETERANS LIKE TENG. ON THE OTHER
HAND, TENG AND HIS SUPPORTERS ARE VICTIMS OF THE CULTURAL
REVOLUTION AND CONTINUE TO BE HOSTILE TO ITS LEGACY AND TO
THE "NEWCOMERS" WHO ROSE OVER THEIR SHOULDERS.

20. WITH THE SUPPORT OF WANG TUNG-HSING AND YEH CHIEN-
YING, HUA SHOULD HAVE NO DIFFICULTY IN PREEMPTING THE
CENTRAL STAGE IN CHINESE POLITICS. HOWEVER, WANG'S
POLITICAL INFLUENCE SEEMS TO BE RISING RAPIDLY, AND HE MAY
EVENTUALLY BECOME HIS OWN MAN. INDEED, HE IS A MAN TO
WATCH. MOREOVER, YEH IS OVER 80, AND THE DEPARTURE OF AN
ARBITER LIKE HIM FROM THE POLITICAL SCENE COULD HAVE AD-
VERSE CONSEQUENCES FOR THE LEADERSHIP. CHRISTOPHER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 22-Sep-1999 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TOSEC, PARTY LEADERS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 24-Aug-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977STATE202372
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: INR/REA: P CHANG
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: n/a
Expiration:
Film Number: D770306-0540
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t197708117/baaaetpf.tel
Line Count: 311
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 8fe95751-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN INR
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 03-Jan-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1446247
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CHINA'S NEW LEADERSHIP LINE-UP
TAGS: OVIP, PINT, CH, (VANCE, CYRUS R)
To: SECRETARY INFO TOKYO MULTIPLE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/8fe95751-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009